OLIVER CROMWELL

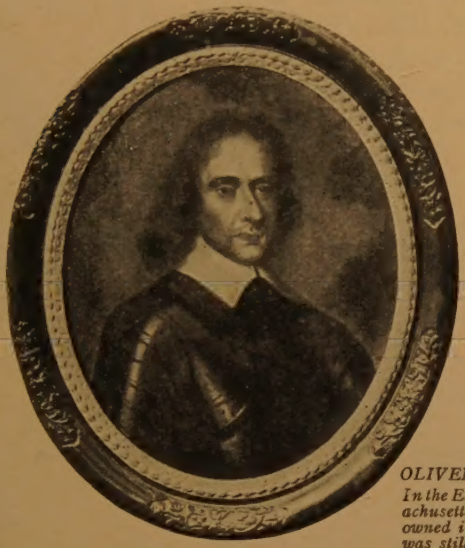
GENERAL, STATESMAN, AND MAN

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART
Professor of Government, Harvard University

THE MENTOR

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

SERIAL NO. 80



OLIVER CROMWELL
In the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. This portrait, which was owned in America when Cromwell was still alive, has been attributed to Sir Peter Lely; but this statement has been doubted.

MENTOR GRAVURES

OLIVER CROMWELL
By Sir Peter Lely

CROMWELL AT WHITEHALL
By Julius Schrader

CROMWELL'S CAVALRY
By Wilhelm Camphausen

CHARLES I, KING OF ENGLAND
By Anthony Van Dyck

CROMWELL AT DUNBAR
By A. C. Gow

OLIVER CROMWELL VISITS JOHN MILTON
By David Neal

"Such walls surround her
That no nine-pounder
Could ever plunder that
place of strength.
But Oliver Cromwell
He did her pummel
And made a breach in
the battlement.'

SO runs a doggerel poem which is one of a thousand evidences of the impression that Oliver Cromwell made upon his own and following generations. It has been his lot to pass through many changes in reputation. Long an obscure man, he came to the front by sheer native capacity, was the most successful English general of his century, became head of the state, and king in all but title. He was buried with national pomp—and a few years later his body was dragged from the grave and his head posted at Westminster.

To the extremists who worship "Saint Charles the First," and argue that the people of the United States are still legally under the sovereignty of the Stuart family, Cromwell seems the Judas Iscariot of his time. On the other hand, such writers as John Morley and Theodore Roosevelt are moved to write lives of the great English Puritan. His admirers have erected a statue for him under the shadow of Westminster Hall. Historians hold him to have been the most successful diplomat in Europe. And "Our Noll," as he was sometimes called, is forever counted among the mighty.

Two massive Americans have much resembled Cromwell,—Abraham Lincoln and John Brown. Lincoln was like him in his homeliness: not only

the rough-hewn countenances which both great men possessed, but a sense of belonging to the people at large, of representing the common man. They both had a useful enjoyment of the humorous in political life. They both carried their country through a civil war, and brought the rival parties to peace at the end. John Brown shared Oliver Cromwell's Puritan hardness and disregard of what they thought the wrong side. When Cromwell ordered the massacre of the garrison of Drogheda, he wrote, "This hath been a marvelous great mercy—I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches." That was the spirit with which John Brown was animated when he led out his little army of eighteen men for the attack on Harper's Ferry. He had a Cromwellian way of looking upon those who disagreed with him as completely vile. "I knew their hard hearts," said John Brown. "They had committed murder in their hearts." And so he became the executioner.

OLIVER CROMWELL
From the statue by M. Noble

THE HOLTON PARK PORTRAIT OF CROMWELL

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford, of which university the Protector was chancellor from 1650 to 1657. The traditional account is that the portrait was painted by Walker, and came to Holton Park House in connection with the marriage of General Ireton to Bridget, Cromwell's daughter. It was recently purchased for the Bodleian Library of Oxford

When Oliver Cromwell entered the world in 1599, England was in the midst of that glorious war with Spain in which the defeat of the Invincible Armada was only one of many brilliant victories. When he was four years old Queen Elizabeth died and King James the First came to the throne. Four years later the first permanent English settlement was made in America. Four years thereafter began the struggle between king and Parliament.

These things all hang together. Elizabeth led England to become a great sea power, and that made the colony of Virginia possible. James the First at once began to tangle himself with the desire of his people to rule themselves, and the Puritans, among whom Cromwell was brought up, got control of Parliament and in the end overthrew the monarchy.

In this twentieth century, revolutions grow so stale that they lose their place on the first page of the newspaper. The world may have on its hands at the same time a Turkish revolution, a Portuguese revolution, a Chinese revolution, and a Mexican revolution. Hence to us it seems natural that people who are discontented with their government should practise the game of—

"Johnny, get your gun and your sword and your pistol."

The seal of the commonwealth of Massachusetts bears a Latin motto to the effect that "We seek peace and quiet by the sword." That is the keynote of the earlier part of Cromwell's public life. He was so eager for peace and quiet that he was willing to pursue his enemies to the uttermost. As the shrewdest and boldest military man in the English civil wars, he became the Man on Horseback, and his army made him almost undisputed ruler of his country.

A ROUNDHEAD

One of Cromwell's soldiers. From the painting by F. C. Yohn, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, in connection with "Oliver Cromwell," by Theodore Roosevelt.

The man was built for his times. He went to school and to the University of Cambridge; but, like some later students, was "more famous for his exercises in the field than in the schools, being one of the chief matchmakers and players of football, cudgels, or any other boisterous sport or game."

At twenty-nine he entered Parliament and joined the radical party. He all but came over as an emigrant to Massachusetts or Connecticut. Instead of making his career as a pioneer statesman in America, he became one of the Puritans who in 1642 began a war upon their sovereign.

Cromwell up to this time had no special training as a soldier: he was a quiet country gentleman. In the first serious battles he was only a captain.

At once he showed his natural military genius. Within a few months he was made colonel, and began to recruit a new kind of soldiers. "He had a special care to get religious men into his troop," and he said of them, "My troops increase. I have a lovely company. If you choose godly, honest men to be captains of horse, honest men will follow them."

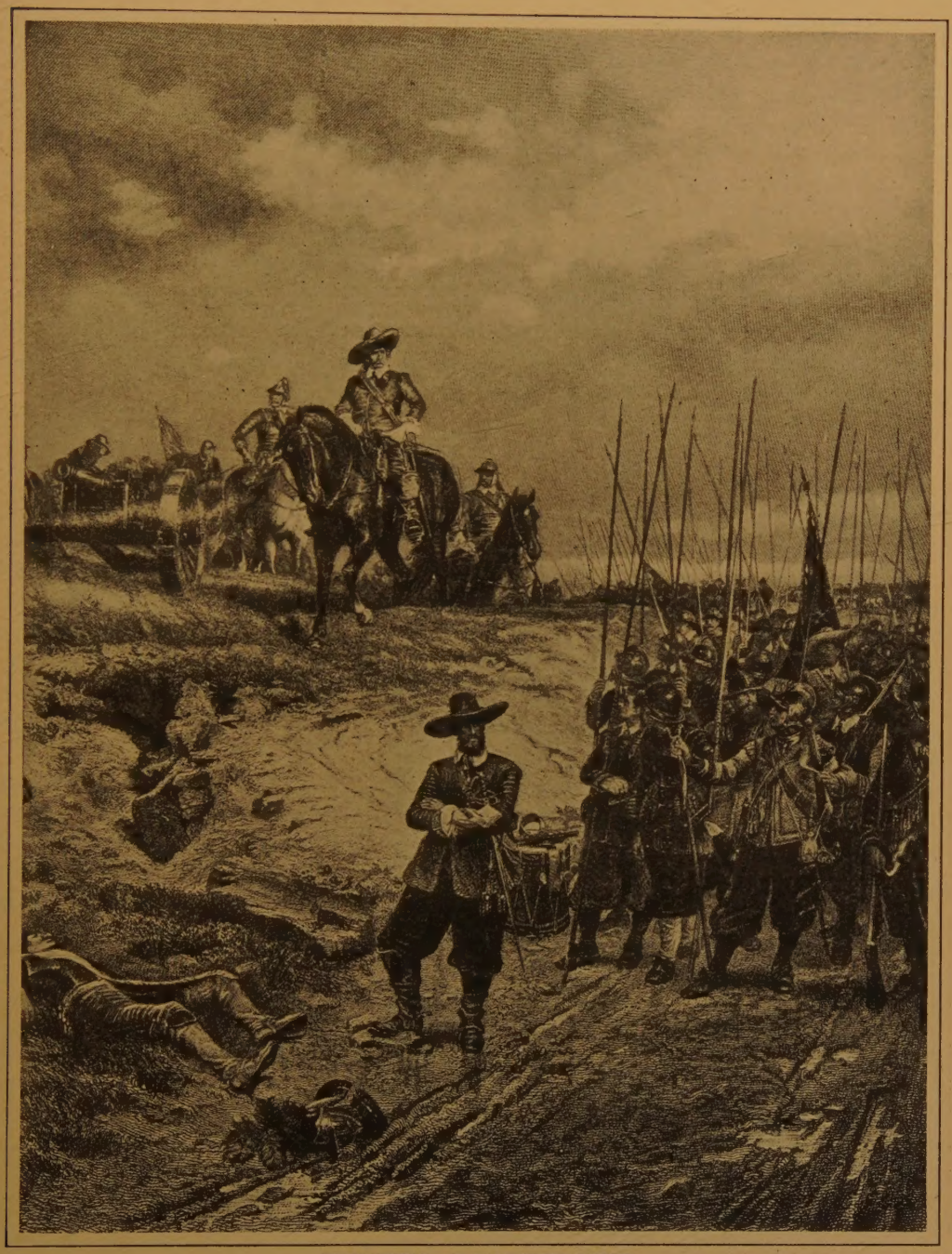
This was the beginning of the best cavalry corps in England, in which "No man swears but he pays his twelvepence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks or worse." Cromwell fought at the head of his troop at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, and virtually won the victory. Prince Rupert, commander of the defeated royal cavalry, dubbed the victors "Ironsides"; and the name and the toughness which it expressed stuck to them. Lieutenant General Cromwell soon became the most popular leader of the Puritans. At Naseby, in 1645, again Cromwell's Ironsides were the deciding force.

CROMWELL LEADING A CHARGE
From the painting by F. C. Yohn

CROMWELL, THE LEADER

The Puritans felt no safety so long as King Charles lived, and Cromwell, through his energy, power to command, and radical spirit, naturally came to the front. The Church of England was for the time put out of service; but the severe Presbyterians wanted to make theirs the state church. Cromwell was of the same mind as John Winthrop and John Endicott of Massachusetts when they formed an "Independent" church. Throughout the rest of his life Cromwell stood out for the "Independent" system. The quarrel was carried into the army, which accused the Presbyterians not so much of intolerance as of failing to pay their wages. The result was that the army marched to London and compelled Parliament to accept its will. After that the army became the government, and Cromwell became the head and spokesman of the army. The Man on Horseback had arrived!

It was a time when printed papers played a large part in the series



CROMWELL AT MARSTON MOOR

From the painting by Ernest Crofts, in the collection of John Rhodes

of revolutions. Whenever they felt like it the officers of the army drew up documents called "The Petition and Advice," or "The Agreement of the People." Several of these were little written constitutions, perhaps suggested by the New England Confederation of 1636; or by the Fundamental Orders adopted by the people of Connecticut in 1639.

Cromwell's military successes against the Scots seemed to him the evidence of the approval of the Almighty for still more startling plans. In 1649 came "Pride's Purge," when a body of soldiers, with Cromwell's cordial approval, turned out a hundred and forty members of Parliament. That left the Independents free to put King Charles on trial for his life; but constitutional objections were raised, such as that nobody could create a court that could try a king. Cromwell replied, "I tell you we will cut off his head with the crown upon it!"

"THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS"

Cromwell thus made a precedent in government and politics. Plenty of earlier kings had been killed by their unloving subjects; but they were killed to make room for another king. When Parliament put the king on trial for his life it asserted the right of the people, through their elected representatives, to make or to unmake their own government. This new political theory collided with tradition and with religion. Englishmen had been as certain of the "divine right" of a king to rule them as Russians are today. To assassinate a king was a fearful sin; but to condemn him by a court was a denial once for all that the king of England had a divine right to do anything.

THE FAMILY OF CROMWELL INTERCEDING FOR THE LIFE OF CHARLES I

From the painting by Alfred Johannot

Hence Cromwell was sure that the king had been removed "in a way which Christians in after time will mention with honor and tyrants in the

CHARLES I IN THE GUARD-ROOM
Insulted by the soldiers of Cromwell on January 27, 1649. From the painting by Paul Delaroche, in the Bridgewater Gallery

HENRIETTA MARIA
The queen of Charles I

world look at with fear." At any rate the idea that no people were bound to obey a king if they thought him a tyrant bore its natural fruit in the American Revolution, a century and a quarter later.

If there was no king of England, what was there? The House of Lords had ceased to be; the House of Commons voted that "England shall henceforth be governed as a commonwealth, or a free state, by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute as ministers under them for the good of the people." Here is the germ of Lincoln's phrase, "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." The word "commonwealth" is simply a translation of the word "republic"; for a republic was what they meant to set up. They had about as much experience of real

CHARLES I LED FROM ST. JAMES'S PALACE TO HIS EXECUTION AT WHITEHALL, JANUARY 30, 1649
From the painting by Caton Woodville

republican government as the people of Portugal today. Just as in the new Chinese republic, the radicals and the conservatives began to quarrel with each other, and the man that had control of the army was bound to decide between them. When the Irish took the royal side and rose against the new system, Cromwell put them down with cruelty and despatch. The cynical letters which he wrote home to Parliament have ever since been justly quoted against him. When the town of Wexford was stormed, though there was very little resistance, Cromwell was sure that "there was lost of the enemy not many less than two thousand, and I believe not twenty of ours killed from first to last of the siege."

CROMWELL DISMISSES PARLIAMENT

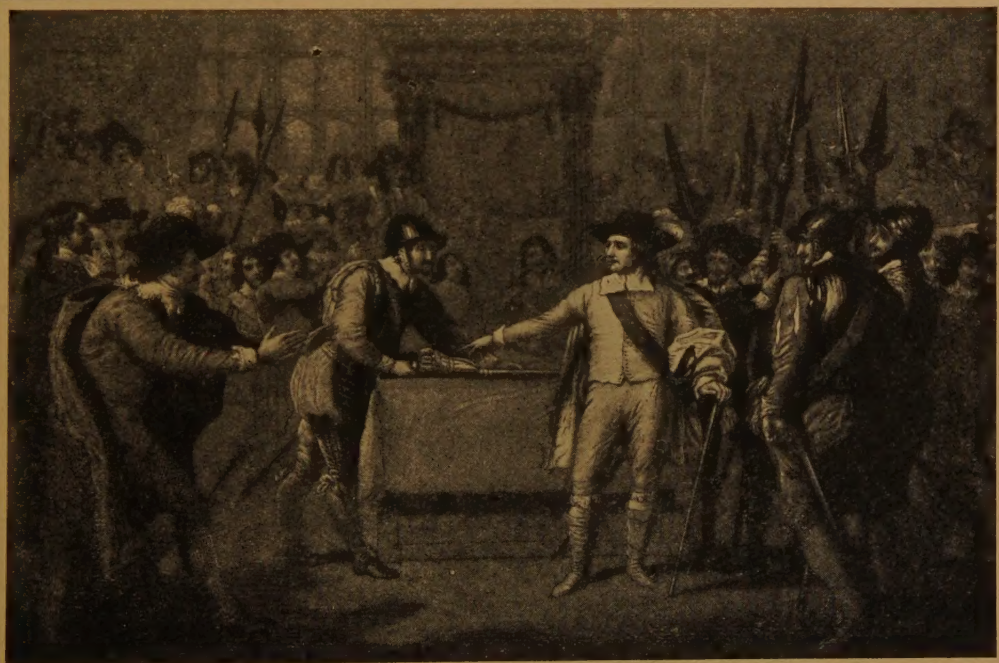
This kind of Balkan campaigning stamps Cromwell as a man of fierce race and religious prejudices; but it did not at all interfere with his success as ruler of England. When Parliament tried to defy him in 1653, he marched into the House exclaiming, "You are no Parliament. I say you are no Parliament! I will put an end to your sitting. Call them in!" And at the word of command his soldiers entered, and put an end to the little that was left of the English republic.

It is always the despot's plea that the representatives of the people are not fit to govern themselves or their country. Yet Cromwell provided for a new Parliament, made up, as he said, of men "who had fought

in the wars and were all of a piece on that account. Why, surely these men will hit it!" In a few weeks they were hitting him; and so he turned out that Parliament, and through the army drew up a new constitution, the "Instrument of Government," with Cromwell as lord protector.

From that time to his death Cromwell was the English government —and in the eyes of foreign nations he was England itself. Under his guidance the Puritans tried to stop horse racing, cock fighting, dueling, and "making music in the taverns." They put an end to the favorite sport of bear baiting, as Macaulay put it, "not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators." Cromwell was a Progressive Party in urging reforms and social betterments. It is a singular fact that this man, the very essence of Puritanism, in his soul believed in tolerating differences of religious belief. He tried to grant milder treatment to Catholics and Jews; he protected the Quakers; he outran Parliament and his friends in his desire to give people a chance to think their own thoughts.

Even the Protector of England, who was himself protected by bayonets, could not have his will at home; but he was mighty abroad. He built up a great navy and fought the Dutch. His ships captured Jamaica



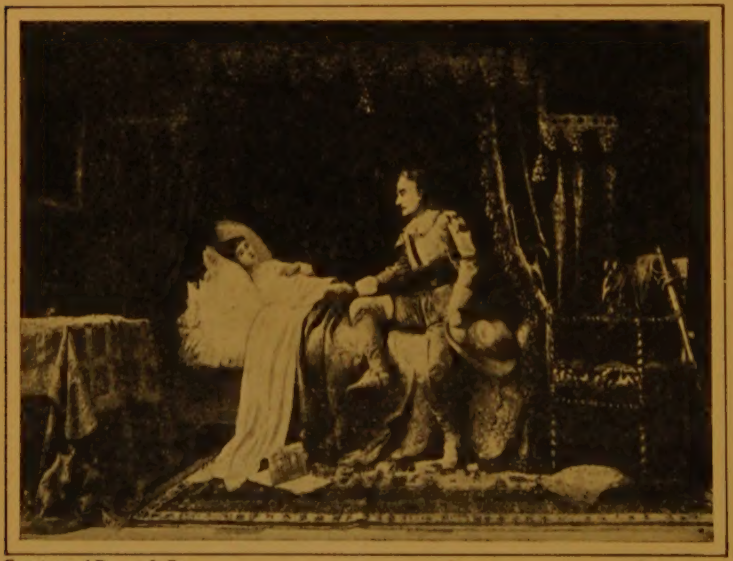
CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT
From the painting by Benjamin West, the famous early American artist

from the Spaniards. He sent troops over to join in the wars on the Continent. Throughout Europe he was looked upon as a great sovereign. The unofficial court poet, Waller, thus blew his trumpet before his Highness the Protector:

"The sea's our own; and now all nations greet,
With bending sails, each vessel of our fleet;
Your power resounds as far as winds can blow
Or swelling sails upon the globe may go."

OLIVER CROMWELL
From a portrait by an unknown artist

Still his own friends and associates were not satisfied with this government by the strong man. "What is it you would have?" asked the Protector of one of his subjects. "That which we fought for," was the reply; "that the nation might be governed by its own consent." That brave phrase "its own consent" was in many men's minds; and Thomas Jefferson used it for the Declaration of Independence. Cromwell again dissolved Parliament, because it claimed the right of the nation to rule itself. Many people thought that he was on the point of declaring himself king; but he was worn out and died in 1658.



Courtesy of Braun & Co.
CROMWELL AT THE DEATHBED OF HIS DAUGHTER ELIZABETH
From the painting by Ramsey

Eight months after Cromwell's death Charles the Second, son of Charles the First, entered London as king. Apparently Cromwell's work had fallen to pieces; but the lesson of the Commonwealth was never forgotten. Cromwell the general, the successful leader, the vigorous man, could not make head against the will of the English people. Then what could the easy-going Charles the Second accomplish against them? His successor, James the Second, was overthrown by Parliament; and every king of England since has bowed to the people's will. For neither crowned king nor uncrowned protector, European czar nor president, can get on in this age of the world without "the consent of the governed."

CHARLES I AND HENRIETTA MARIA

From the painting by Van Dyck, in the collection of the Duke of Grafton, at Euston Hall, Suffolk, England

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

LIFE OF JOHN MILTON *By David Masson.*
An extended account of the life of the period of Cromwell's activity.

OLIVER CROMWELL
By Theodore Roosevelt.
A popular account, from a modern point of view.

OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE RULE OF THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND
By Charles H. Firth.
A popular account by a specialist on the period.

CROMWELL AS A SOLDIER
By Thomas S. Baldock.
A military biography; the best general account of his campaigns.

OLIVER CROMWELL *By John Morley.*
A sympathetic biography; by a thorough student in English history and politics.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR and HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE.
By Samuel R. Gardiner.

LAST YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE
By Charles H. Firth.
The standard works on the period from 1642 to 1658.

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES (Edition of 1904)
By Thomas Carlyle.
The first work to show a correct appreciation of Cromwell's character.

THE OPEN LETTER

"How should I read books? I do not find it easy." Good reader, you are self-conscious. You have got yourself into a state of mind over reading. Like the pupil in acting who suffers from stage fright, you are affected by "book fright." Your letter tells me that you think reading implies study and work. If it does, then stop reading for awhile and begin all over. The only kind of reading that will do you any good is the kind that interests you. A great philosopher said: "One is apt to profit little from the reading that one does not enjoy."

★ ★ ★

A pleasing fact appears in your letter, You have been taking The Mentor for some time. Do you find The Mentor interesting? If you do, it is helping you. And the greatest help that The Mentor can give you is to make clear to you that the acquirement of knowledge by reading is not an irksome task, but one of the pleasures of life. In too many cases the gaining of knowledge is made odious when, in order to be really successful, it should be interesting and suitable to the taste. The process of acquiring knowledge is a privilege and a blessing. It used to be said that there was no royal road to learning. It would be more true to say now that the avenues leading to it are *all royal.*

You, good reader, still share with many others the old time notion that medicine can do no good unless it tastes bitter, and that all that is worth while in life must be acquired by the pathway of pain and labor. My advice to you is simple: cheer up! There's a world of pleasure ahead of you—in the books.

★ ★ ★

Do you happen to know a little book—it has passed through many editions—called "The Pleasures of Life"? It was written by Sir John Lubbock. I have borrowed some of the words above from him. You can find no more happy statement of the mental gain, the enrichment and the abundant joy that reading affords than in this little book. Sir John Lubbock says: "Many readers miss much of the pleasure of reading by forcing themselves to dwell too long continuously on one subject. . . . There are, of course, some books which we must read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. But these are exceptions. . . . It is better to read quickly, dwelling only on the best passages. . . . We may apply to reading Lord Brougham's wise dictum as regards education, and say that it is well to read everything of something and something of everything."

★ ★ ★

Think what an age this is for obtaining the advantages of reading! In the old time books were rare and only the rich could have them. Information had to be got from word of mouth or from an occasional volume. A famous writer of years ago found a book that delighted him and, having no means of possessing it, copied the whole work out in his own hand. Knowledge was hardly gained in those days. But today it is all so easy! So take it easy, good reader. Make a pleasure of it. Choose your course and let the books carry you along.

★ ★ ★

Read what Sir John Lubbock has to say: "The world has no limits for us; Humboldt and Herschel will carry us far away to the mysterious nebulæ, beyond the sun and even the stars; time has no more bounds than space, history stretches out behind us, and geology will carry us back for millions of years before the creation of man, even to the origin of the material universe itself. . . . Comfort and consolation, refreshment and happiness, may indeed be found in his library by anyone 'who shall bring the golden key that unlocks its silent door.' We may make a library, if we do but rightly use it, a true Paradise on earth, a Garden of Eden without its one drawback; for all is open to us, including and especially the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. . . . We may read the most important histories, the most exciting travels and adventures. . . . We may meet the most eminent statesmen, poets, philosophers, benefit by the ideas of the greatest thinkers, and enjoy the grandest creations of human genius."

W. D. Moffat

EDITOR

THE LOUVRE, PARIS

CHARLES I, KING OF ENGLAND, BY ANTHONY VAN DYCK

"CHARLES I, King of England," from the painting by Anthony Van Dyck, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Oliver Cromwell."

KING CHARLES I

Monograph Number One in The Mentor Reading Course

CHARLES I was a great contrast to his father, King James I. James was crafty and clever, undignified, and altogether unfit for kingship. Charles, as can be seen from his portraits, had dignity, majesty, and a gracious charm that won him many friends, but did not make him the powerful man that a king should be. He was not in the least crafty by nature, and all his attempts to outwit his enemies resulted in failure. His private life was good; but he had the great fault of thinking that kings were not bound to keep their word.

Charles was not born heir to the throne. He was the second son of James I and Anne of Denmark. He was born on November 19, 1600, and in 1612, at the death of his elder brother Henry, became heir apparent. His father gave him for companion in his youth a young man who was very handsome and very brave, but also very worthless. This was the Duke of Buckingham. He taught Charles to think that princes and their friends were altogether above the law.

Charles became king of England in 1625, and a little later married Henrietta Maria of France by proxy.

Again and again Charles attempted to deceive the people and Parliament. He did not want to give them their rights. He believed that they had enough rights as it was, and finally dissolved Parliament in 1629. For the next eleven years he ruled England without Parliament.

Then came the Civil War, and at first the tide ran in favor of the Royalists. It was Oliver Cromwell who finally turned this tide and brought defeat to the king.

Charles was brought to trial and sentenced to death. During it all he showed the greatest dignity and calmness. He made no defense before the judges, who, according to his ideas, had no right to try him. In his prison he thought not of himself, but of his children. When they were brought for a last farewell Charles took his daughter Elizabeth, and her little brother Prince Henry, on his knees and admonished them always to obey the queen, their mother, and their elder brother. It was a sorrowful parting for all.

When his last hour came, on January 30, 1649, Charles bravely stepped through the window at Whitehall to the scaffold and looked calmly out on the crowd which had gathered to see how a king could die. He quietly bowed his head upon the block. The blow fell.

"This is the head of a traitor!" said the executioner, holding it up to the people.

He was answered with groans and tears.

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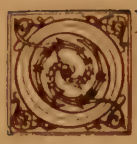
IN THE PITTI GALLERY, FLORENCE

OLIVER CROMWELL, BY SIR PETER LELY



LIVER CROMWELL," from the famous painting by Sir Peter Lely, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Oliver Cromwell."

THE YOUTH OF CROMWELL

Monograph Number Two in The Mentor Reading Course.

OLIVER CROMWELL was born at Huntingdon, England, on April 25, 1599. His ancestors were solid and well known leaders of the district thereabout. Oliver was first educated at the free school of Huntingdon. He went to Cambridge University, and then took up the study of law in London.

There are many stories concerning Oliver Cromwell, first circulated by his Royalist enemies, charging that as a youth he was wild and dissipated. These do not deserve to be credited; although it is undoubtedly true that a boy of his temperament and force of character might have been guilty of some minor indiscretions. Also, according to an authority of the time, "he was more famous for his exercises in the fields than in the schools, being one of the chief matchmakers and players at football, cudgels, or any other boisterous game or sport."

During the early part of his life he quietly farmed his lands in Huntingdonshire, seeking in no way to make a stir in the world. He married Elizabeth Bourchier in 1620, and was elected to Parliament eight years later. He was a strong and even violent puritan, and was one of the members of Parliament who refused to adjourn at the king's command until Sir John Eliot's resolutions against illegal taxation had been passed.

For the next eleven years little was heard of this aggressive puritan who was to become master of England. During this time King Charles I ruled the country without Parliament. In 1630 Cromwell became one of the justices of peace for his borough, and he then came forward as a champion of the people's rights in the matter of certain lands of which they were being robbed. The next year he turned all his property into money and sometime later was on the point of emigrating to America, when he succeeded to the estate of his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward. All the time he was becoming more and more firmly fixed in his views on religion. Always an ardent puritan, he was firmly convinced now that the only salvation lay there.

Cromwell represented Cambridge in the short and long Parliaments of 1640. He strongly opposed the king. At this time he was a rough, uncouth figure, unskilled and confused of speech, yet a man to be watched because of his deadly earnestness. Nevertheless, among the clever men in Parliament it did not seem that he was mightier than any of them. Sir Phillip Warwick describes Cromwell as he appeared in November, 1640:

"I came into the house one morning well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; . . . his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervor . . . I sincerely profess it much lessened my reverence as to that great council, for he was there much hearkened unto."

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ROMWELL'S CAVALRY," from the painting by Wilhelm Camphausen, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Oliver Cromwell."

THE CIVIL WAR

Monograph Number Three in The Mentor Reading Course

WHEN the civil war against King Charles began Cromwell immediately became a leading spirit in it. His power was due in a great part to his well trained troops. His was one of the finest armies ever seen. He trained and disciplined them, and fired them with a burning desire to fight for their own religion and government. One of his most famous pieces of advice was, "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry."

When the puritan soldiers were beaten at Edgehill, Cromwell had observed that the cavalry of Parliament was far inferior to that of the king. He saw that the reason for this was because his soldiers were not inspired by any great idea. He found this inspiration in religion. He trained his men to fight not for pay or for adventure, but for their faith. He said he knew nothing that could "give the like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ's will."

At the battle of Marston Moor on July 2, 1644, Cromwell commanded all the cavalry of the Eastern Association of the puritans, together with some troops from Scotland. He was wounded in the neck; but in spite of this he charged valiantly and routed the troops opposed to him. By so doing he converted what seemed at one time to be a defeat into a decisive victory. It was at this battle that Prince Rupert, his enemy, gave him the name of "Ironsides," which was later applied to his troops.

On June 14, 1645, came the decisive battle of Naseby, when the cause of the king was lost. Cromwell commanded the right wing of the puritans, and showed great bravery and brilliance in this victory for Parliament.

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ROMWELL AT WHITEHALL," from the painting by Julius Schrader, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Oliver Cromwell."

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES I

Monograph Number Four in The Mentor Reading Course

THE Civil War was now over, with Parliament the victor. King Charles settled at Oxford, where he kept up the pretense of a gay court. But trouble was yet ahead for England. The army was dissatisfied with its treatment by Parliament, and would not disband. They demanded their pay, which Parliament refused to give. In consequence the army organized a systematic opposition. Parliament resolved to restore the king under its own control, and ordered an immediate disbandment of the army without any guaranty for the payment of arrears. The soldiers mutinied immediately. In 1647 Cromwell joined them.

The most important thing now was the possession of the person of the king. Parliament put him in prison; but Cromwell sent a troop which captured him. He then advanced with his army toward London. The army stayed outside the city, however, and attempted to make terms with Parliament. Parliament finally yielded in June, 1647.

But more disagreements arose, and the king himself added to the general disorder by trying to make terms with both Parliament and Cromwell at the same time. In November, Charles fled from Hampton Court; but he was captured and held prisoner on the Isle of Wight.

Cromwell then saw that the king was only trying to deceive him, and he realized that the only way to bring peace to England was to get rid of him. At the end of December it was resolved to bring the king to trial. To Westminster Hall Charles was taken to be tried. Cromwell had tried his best to make honest terms with Charles, and had restrained the army, which would have killed the king long before. But at last he judged that there was no way left but the terrible one of executing their legal sovereign. His death seemed to Cromwell the only way to prevent anarchy or a return to despotism and everything that he had fought against.

On January 30, 1649, Charles was executed outside one of the windows of the banquet hall of the Palace of Whitehall. His death did not have the sanction of the people, and it is said that the triumphant shouts of the soldiers could not overwhelm the groans and sobs raised by the populace.

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ROMWELL AT DUNBAR," from the stirring painting by A. C. Gow, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Oliver Cromwell."

CROMWELL THE CONQUEROR

Monograph Number Five in The Mentor Reading Course

FOR eleven years after the death of Charles I, there was no king in England. The government was called a Commonwealth, and the power was supposed to rest with the people. But the man who really ruled the country was Oliver Cromwell. He did his best to make England great by setting things in order at home and by extending her power abroad. The great poet Milton was one of his ministers and officers.

The death of Charles I did not altogether end the Civil War. The royalists were still strong in some parts of the kingdom. Both Ireland and Scotland declared for Charles II as king. Cromwell went to Ireland in 1649 to suppress the royalist rebellion there. He landed at Dublin in August, and reduced Ireland to submission within a year. Then he hurried home to deal with the royalists in Scotland. He entered Scotland in July, and after a campaign in the neighborhood of Edinburgh retired to Dunbar to await reinforcements. When there he was cut off from England, and from his base of supplies except from the sea. But the Scots weakened their front by descending a hill, and after a stubborn battle in September, 1650, Cromwell won a decisive victory. Scotland was completely subjugated by 1654.

In September, 1651, Cromwell made his triumphal entry into London at the conclusion of his victorious campaigns. Parliament gave him Hampton Court as a residence, with a grant of $20,000 a year. Then came the difficult task of governing England by Parliament and by law. He worked hard, and tried to help Parliament to the best of his ability; but then Parliament attempted to center the governing power in its own hands, and Cromwell and the army determined to resist this at all costs. On April 20, 1653, he hurried to the House of Parliament just as the bill was being put to vote. Suddenly he rose from his seat, whispering, "This is the time! I must do it!"

He immediately began to attack the members of Parliament. He was not sparing in his language, and called them every name that he could think of,—"drunkards, corrupt, unjust, scandalous to the profession of the Gospel. Perhaps you think," he exclaimed, "that this is not parliamentary language. I confess it is not; neither are you to expect any such from me."

Someone complained of his violence, and he cried, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating! You are no Parliament! I say you are no Parliament! I will put an end to your sitting!"

He then had a small band of his musketeers march in, and commanded that the members leave the hall.

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LIVER CROMWELL Visits John Milton," from a well-known painting, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Oliver Cromwell."

LORD PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND

Monograph Number Six in The Mentor Reading Course

CROMWELL was now absolute ruler of England. He immediately summoned another Parliament, which was called the "Little" or "Barebones Parliament." This body, however, soon showed itself to be useless, and was dissolved within six months.

But Cromwell had no desire to exercise arbitrary power. He wanted to devise some kind of constitution for the government of England; so he accepted a written one which was drawn up by some of his officers, called "The Instrument of Government." This is the only example of a government based on constitutional guarantees in English history. The officers who drew it up wanted Cromwell to take the title of king; but this he refused to do again and again. Finally he was named Protector for life, and in December, 1653, was installed in his new office.

While Cromwell was a reformer and tried to guide England into a path of incorruptible government, he was as conservative and as moderate as possible. He saw no harm in honest sport, and was very fond of horses and hunting; although he was specially severe with those who fought duels, raced horses, and attended cock fights. He was fond of music and art, and patronized learning. John Milton was at one time his secretary, and he allowed the royalist writers Hobbes and Cowley to return to England.

Cromwell was particularly interested in the universities of England. In 1651 he was elected chancellor of Oxford, an office that he held until 1657, when he was succeeded by his son Richard.

While Cromwell was a stanch puritan, he was at the same time a firm believer in religious toleration. "I had rather that Mohammedanism were permitted amongst us," he said at one time, "than that one of God's children should be persecuted." He was always on the side of forbearance and moderation.

Cromwell's foreign policy was to extend the Protestant faith, to promote English trade, and to prevent the Stuarts being restored to the throne of England. Foreign nations at first treated England as an outcast state after Charles I had been put to death; but Cromwell made them eager for her friendship and fearful of her anger. It was Cromwell's well trained army and the valiant navy of one of his admirals, Blake, that brought this about.

In 1657 Cromwell was once more offered the crown. This time again he definitely refused to become king. But on May 25, when a petition was presented to Cromwell with the title of Protector substituted for that of King, he accepted it. On June 26, with regal honors, he was once more installed.

His government was now stronger than ever; but his career was drawing to a close. His health had long been impaired by the hardships of campaigning. At 58 he was already an old man. His favorite daughter, Elizabeth, died early in 1658, and he was much depressed by the shock of his bereavement. Soon afterward he fell ill; but he seemed to recover after a short sickness. But once more ill health overtook him. In August he grew weaker, and finally resigned himself to death. He refused medicine to induce sleep, saying, "It is not my desire to drink or to sleep, but my desire is to make what haste I can to be gone." He died on the afternoon of September 3, 1658, the anniversary of both his great victories, Dunbar and Worcester.

His body was privately buried in Westminster Abbey, the public funeral being conducted with great ceremony and costing the huge sum of $300,000. When Charles II was restored to the throne Cromwell's body was dug up and hanged on a gallows.

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